175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

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1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

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[291] Dr. Kandt (1) says that Idjwi belongs to the Ruanda

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili
(Berlin, 1904), pp. 517-518.

sphere of influence. Its inhabitants deny that they were former subjects of Ruanda, as the Banyaruanda maintain. Mihiggo's grandfather, Mwendo, had to pay tribute to Ruanda. His son, Kaweggo, tried to make himself independent, but Lwabugiri fought him (1886) and he had to flee to the island of Ugishushu. He was betrayed by his son, Nkudie, and fell into the hands of Kigeri who had him executed. After the king returned (1888), having been called back by unrest in Ruanda, the independent party formed around Mihiggo, another son, for Nkudie was executed by the king because he had betrayed his father. After a few years (1892 or 1893) Lwabugiri undertook a second expedition against Idjwi. The island was again conquered, and Mihiggo fled to Bunyabungu. In order to punish Bunyabungu for sheltering Mihiggo, Kigeri set out on an expedition against this country, but he became ill and died. With his death, the hour of liberation came for Idjwi, and Mihiggo returned as an independent ruler (1894).

The dying King Lwabugiri was brought back to Ruanda and died en route in Mukinjaga. It is said that he was poisoned by his courtiers who were tired of the endless wars. Not all of them were like the Batwa who were devoted to the king and regarded the wars as the best opportunity to consume a great deal of meat. Some accounts have it that the poison was prepared by his wife, Kanzogera, the mother of Musinga.

Lwabugiri pursued centralistic tendencies in his internal policy. It is said that he was credited with having broken up the large hereditary chieftainships and interspersed them territorially. This was probably the cause of the war with the later regent, Kabare, who allegedly was castrated, as well as the death of Kigeri. According to one version, Kabare was castrated by Lwabugiri in order to make it impossible for this ambitious man to try to become king. Another version has it that the young Kabare was caught with the favorite wife of the king and was punished for this. In revenge

175 643 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga, the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died. These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

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> 2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

> 1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

> Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 643 649 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

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3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

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1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

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conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.